

Message Text

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USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

AMEMBASSY ANKARA

C O N F I D E N T I A L MBFR VIENNA 0394

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

ANKARA FOR DELIVERY OF TEXT TO NATO DEPARTMENT,
TURKISH FOREIGN MINISTRY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: UK AND CZECH STATEMENTS AT NOV 7
PLENARY

1. BEGIN SUMMARY. AT THE NOV 7 PLENARY MEETING OF
THE MBFR NEGOTIATIONS, CHAIRED BY THE GDR REP (OESER),
THE MAIN STATEMENT WAS DELIVERED BY THE UK REP (ROSE).
IT WAS A STANDARD WESTERN PRESENTATION ON PHASING, BUT
ALSO INCLUDED (ON THE FIRST PAGE) THE FOLLOWING PARA-
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GRAPH DEALING WITH THE EASTERN INITIAL REDUCTION

PROPOSAL: QUOTE - WE FEEL OBLIGED TO POINT OUT THAT, ALTHOUGH THIS PROPOSAL CONTAINS SOME POSITIVE ASPECTS, IT IS NOT SUBSTANTIALLY NEW. IT DOES NOT TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE BASIC CONCERNS WHICH WE HAVE EXPRESSED, IN PARTICULAR THE NEED TO DIMINISH THE GROUND FORCE DISPARITIES IN A FIRST PHASE, TO BUILD CONFIDENCE THROUGH FIRST PHASE REDUCTIONS LIMITED TO US AND SOVIET GROUND FORCES, AND TO ESTABLISH OVERALL LEVELS FOR GROUND FORCE MANPOWER IN THE FORM OF A COMMON CEILING. END QUOTE. AS REPORTED SEPTEL, IN APPROVING THE UK STATEMENT ON NOV6, THE AHG ALSO DECIDED THAT A COMPREHENSIVE CRITIQUE OF THE EASTERN PROPOSAL SHOULD BE PRESENTED IN NOV 14 WESTERN PLENARY STATEMENT.

2. FOLLOWING ROSE'S STATEMENT, CZECHOSLOVAK REP KLEIN REQUESTED THE FLOOR TO COMMENT ON ROSE'S STATEMENT, WHICH HE SAID CONTAINED "A FIRST REACTION" OF WESTERN DELEGATIONS TO THE INITIAL REDUCTIONS PROPOSAL. KLEIN SAID THE MAIN EASTERN AIM IN INTRODUCING THE INITIAL REDUCTION PROPOSAL WAS TO FIND A BASIS FOR A FIRST AGREEMENT WHICH WOULD BE CONSISTENT WITH THE PRINCIPLE OF UNDIMINISHED SECURITY, AND WHICH WOULD PROVIDE AN IMPETUS TO FUTURE NEGOTIATIONS ON MORE SUBSTANTIAL REDUCTIONS, WHICH THE EAST CONSIDERS NECESSARY. KLEIN WENT ON TO NOTE ALLIED CRITICISM OF EASTERN PROPOSALS AND TO COUNTER WESTERN ARGUMENTS BY CITING PACT MOVES TOWARD WESTERN POSITIONS (PHASING AND US/SOVIET DIFFERENTIATION). HE CONTRASTED "COMPROMISE CHARACTER" OF EASTERN PROPOSAL WITH APPARENT WESTERN ATTITUDE THAT ONLY CURRENT ALLIED POSITIONS ARE BASIS FOR AGREEMENT. KLEIN CONCLUDED BY AGAIN INVITING WEST TO WEIGH CAREFULLY THE EASTERN PROPOSAL.

3. EASTERN REPS TOLD US BEFORE THE PLENARY MEETING THAT AN EASTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANT MIGHT MAKE A BRIEF REPLY TO THE UK STATEMENT SHOULD ROSE ADDRESS THE EASTERN INITIAL REDUCTION PROPOSAL. THE CZECHOSLOVAK STATEMENT APPARENTLY WAS PREPARED IN ADVANCE ON A CONTINGENCY BASIS, BUT WAS ADAPTED IN LONG HAND BY KLEIN DURING THE MEETING IN VIEW OF THE BREVITY OF ROSE'S REMARKS ON THE FIRST STEP. END SUMMARY.
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4. FULL TEXT OF UK STATEMENT AT NOV 7 PLENARY IS BEING SENT BY AIRGRAM. TEXT OF KLEIN'S STATEMENT, AS WE HAVE TAKEN IT DOWN IS BELOW. IT CONTAINS REFERENCES TO A PROPOSAL MADE IN "1970" WHOSE SIGNIFICANCE IS UNCLEAR.
BEGIN TEXT
MR CHAIRMAN,
IN CONNECTION WITH THE STATEMENT WHICH WE HAVE JUST HEARD FROM

THE DISTINGUISHED REPRESENTATIVE OF GREAT BRITAIN, AMBASSADOR ROSE, WHICH CONTAINS A FIRST REACTION OF THE WESTERN DELEGATIONS TO THE PROPOSAL MADE BY THE FOUR SOCIALIST COUNTRIES ABOUT A FIRST STEP REDUCTION, I SHOULD LIKE TO OFFER A FEW COMMENTS. FIRST AND FOREMOST, I SHOULD LIKE TO EMPHASISE, AND THIS INTER ALIA HAS BEEN MENTIONED SEVERAL TIMES, THAT THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES PARTICIPANT IN THE NEGOTIATIONS BELIEVE OUR MAIN PURPOSE IS ACTIVELY TO CO-OPERATE IN SEEKING REDUCTION MEASURES ON STRICTLY AGREED LINES LAID DOWN IN THE PREPARATORY NEGOTIATIONS, AND IN PARTICULAR IN LINE WITH THE PRINCIPLE OF UNDIMINISHED SECURITY FOR ALL COUNTRIES. WE HAVE ALREADY STATED THAT THE SITUATION THROUGHOUT THE NEGOTIATIONS, AND THE DIFFERENCES IN THE POSITIONS OF BOTH SIDES, SO FAR DO NOT PERMIT US TO WORK OUT A FULL AGREEMENT ON REDUCTIONS. THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES HAVE CONSIDERED IT NECESSARY TO MAKE A PROPOSAL TO CONCLUDE A SEPARATE AGREEMENT ABOUT A FIRST STEP REDUCTION OF FORCES AND ARMAMENTS IN CENTRAL EUROPE - AND THIS WAS ALREADY MADE BACK IN 1970. THIS PROPOSAL MAY ENABLE BOTH SIDES TO COME CLOSER AND ALREADY AT THIS STAGE TO WORK OUT A FIRST STEP SOLUTION WHICH WOULD GIVE AN IMPETUS TO THE NEGOTIATIONS. THESE ARE THE MOTIVES, GENTLEMEN, WHICH WERE THE GUIDELINES FOR THE DELEGATIONS OF THE GDR, POLAND, USSR AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA IN COMING FORWARD WITH SUCH INITIATIVE. NOW WHERE ARE THE MOST IMPORTANT OBJECTIONS OF THE WESTERN COUNTRIES TO OUR PROPOSALS? AS WE CAN JUDGE IN THE LIGHT OF THE STATEMENT MADE BY THE DISTINGUISHED REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM, THEY BOIL DOWN BASICALLY TO THE FACT THAT THIS PROPOSAL DOES NOT CONTAIN SUBSTANTIAL NEW ELEMENTS COMPARED WITH THOSE PROPOSED BY THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES EARLIER; AND, MOREOVER, THAT THIS PROPOSAL DOES NOT FULLY TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE POSITION OF THE WESTERN COUNTRIES OR, IN OTHER WORDS, IT DOES NOT DO AWAY WITH CERTAIN CONCERNS OF THE WESTERN COUNTRIES - OR, AS STATED BY THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM, THE MOST BASIC ELEMENTS OF THE WESTERN POSITION. NOW, IF WE WERE TO BASE OURSELVES ON AN

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OBJECTIVE ANALYSIS OF THE INITIATIVE TABLED BY THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES, WE MUST TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE NEW ELEMENTS WHICH WERE CONTAINED IN OUR PROPOSAL. A VERY CAREFUL CONSIDERATION OF THE PROPOSAL TABLED BY THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES SPEDLLS OUT VERY CLEARLY THAT IT TRIES TO ACCOMMODATE THE WESTERN CONCERNS ON A NUMBER OF POINTS. TO START WITH, IT ADDRESSES QUESTIONS WHICH WERE UNDER CONSIDERATION IN THE COURSE OF THE LAST THREE OR FOUR ROUNDS OF NEGOTIATIONS, AND IN PARTICULAR THE QUESTION OF WHOSE ARMED FORCES SHOULD BE REDUCED FROM THE OUTSET. THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES HAVE AGREED, WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE FIRST STEP, TO SEPARATE THE FORCES OF THE SOVIET UNION AND THE USA AND TO CONDUCT THEIR REDUCTIONS SEPARATELY FROM THE ARMED FORCES OF OTHER DIRECT PARTICIPANTS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS. IN ADDITION, THE NEW PROPOSAL DOES TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE WISHES OF THE WESTERN COUNTRIES AND CANADA TO

PARTICIPATE IN THE REDUCTION OF FORCES IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE REDUCTION OF FORCES OF THE SOVIET UNION AND USA. SECONDLY, FOLLOWING THE WISH EXPRESSED BY THE WESTERN COUNTRIES, THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES HAVE AGREED WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE FIRST PHASE STEP, THAT THE US AND THE USSR SHOULD ASSUME THE MAIN SHARE OF THE REDUCTIONS OF FORCES ON BOTH SIDES. THUS, THE REDUCTION OF SOVIET AND AMERICAN FORCES WOULD BE MORE SUBSTANTIAL THAN THAT OF THE FORCES OF OTHER DIRECT PARTICIPANTS IN OUR NEGOTIATIONS. AND THIRDLY, OUR PROPOSAL ALSO TAKES INTO ACCOUNT THE POSITION OF THE WESTERN STATES ON THE QUESTION OF SEPARATING THE NEGOTIATIONS AND THE REDUCTIONS INTO TWO PHASES. THUS, THERE CAN BE NO DOUBT THAT THE COMPROMISE CHARACTER OF THE PROPOSAL MADE BY THE FOUR SOCIALIST COUNTRIES TAKES INTO ACCOUNT VERY IMPORTANT ELEMENTS AND ASPECTS OF BOTH SIDES. THE ELABORATION OF THIS PROPOSAL AND A SPECIFIC AGREEMENT WOULD ALLOW US TO COMMENCE THE REDUCTION OF ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS - IT WOULD HAVE PERMITTED IT ALREADY BACK IN 1970 -A AND THUS WOULD OPEN THE WAY TO FURTHER, MORE SUBSTANTIAL STEPS IN THE FIELD OF MUTUAL REDUCTIONS OF ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS. WE ARE CONVINCED THAT, AS A RESULT OF A FIRST STEP REDUCTION, WE WOULD ALSO DOUBTLESS STRENGTHEN CONFIDENCE AMONG THE PARTICIPANTS IN OUR NEGOTIATIONS, WHICH IS ALSO A FACTOR OF PARAMOUNT IMPORTANCE. NOW, AS REGARDS THE REMARKS MADE THAT THE PROPOSAL TABLED BY THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES DOES NOT FULLY TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE POSITION OF THE WESTERN COUNTRIES, I SHOULD LIKE TO STATE VERY SINCERELY AND OPENLY THAT SUCH CONSIDERATIONS AGAIN DEMONSTRATE THE WISHES

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OF THE WESTERN COUNTRIES TO REACH AGREEMENT ONLY ON THE BASIS OF THEIR POSITION WHICH IS UNREALISTIC AND THEREFORE UNACCEPTABLE TO US. THEY DO NOT TESTIFY TO THE WISH OF THE WESTERN SIDE TO SEEK SOME MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE SOLUTION, NOR DO THEY TESTIFY TO THE FLEXIBILITY WHICH IS SO OFTEN REFERRED TO BY OUR WESTERN COLLEAGUES. WE SHOULD LIKE ONCE MORE TO INVITE THE WESTERN COUNTRIES TO WEIGH OUR PROPOSAL CAREFULLY, AND TO EVALUATE THE VERY IMPORTANT INITIATIVE TAKEN BY THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES WHICH PROVIDES A REAL CHANCE OF ACHIEVING IN THE NEAR FUTURE THE FIRST TANGIBLE RESULTS IN OUR NEGOTIATIONS. END TEXTRESOR

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